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## II.—THE CATALAN *MASCARÓN* AND AN EPISODE IN JACOB VAN MAERLANT'S *MERLIJN*

A popular allegorical subject in the Middle Ages was that which represented the struggle of the good and evil powers for the possession of man's soul. Frequently the evil power is centralized in the devil or his procurator, and the contest is excited by the harrowing of Hell and the release of the damned souls by Christ. According to some of the Church Fathers, the devil had certain rights over man after the first sin, a right which was the more legitimate since it was sanctioned by God himself. The whole subject is closely connected with the dogmatic traditions of the Church concerning the redemption.<sup>1</sup> In the twelfth century, Hugo of St. Victor in his commentary on the fifteenth Psalm gives an account of a dispute between Christ and Satan, in which the devil asserts his right to man as having been consigned to him after the Fall.<sup>2</sup> We find this reproduced in an Italian version of the thirteenth century entitled *Piato del Dio col Nemico*.<sup>3</sup> According to other versions, the Virgin Mary undertook the defense of man against the claims of the devil. This idea was a product of the worship of the Virgin which affected so many of the doctrines of the Church. As the protecting Mother of sinners, she was the natural adversary of the forces of evil. Mary, the Queen of Heaven, was thus contrasted with Lucifer, the independent ruler of Hell. In certain cases, the story represents a

<sup>1</sup> See Roderich Stintzing, *Geschichte der populären Literatur des kanonisch römischen Rechts in Deutschland*, pp. 259–271; Roediger, *Contrasti Antichi*, Florence, 1887, p. 95; Roskoff, *Geschichte des Teufels*, Vol. I, p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> Hugo: *Misc. Annotationes Elucidatorie in quosdam Psalmos David*, Cap. XII. Migne, CLXXVII, pp. 596–7.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by F. Roediger, *Contrasti Antichi*. Florence, 1887.

trial scene in which Christ appears as the judge, the Virgin Mary as the advocate of mankind and Mascaron, the devil's procurator, as the plaintiff. This version is found in three texts, Dutch, Latin, and Catalan, which show marked similarities.

The Dutch version forms a part of the poem entitled *Merlijn*, attributed to Jacob van Maerlant,<sup>1</sup> Chap. VIII-XIII, and composed about the year 1261.<sup>2</sup> The account there given is as follows. The devils, seeing that they have been deprived of their prey by the harrowing of Hell, call a council and choose Masceroen to go before God as their procurator and lay claim to mankind. He presents himself before Christ and asks for justice. Christ examines his credentials, in which mankind is summoned to hear the procurator's demands, and appoints Good Friday for the hearing of the case. Masceroen protests against the appointment of a holy day, but his objection is not admitted. On returning to Hell, he tells his companions how miserably he has fared, but Lucifer, despite his protests, bids him return early on the following day. In the heavenly court he chooses a high place and waits. When at midday no one has appeared to answer his claims, he goes before God and demands the judgment by default. God, however, silences him by saying that the case is set for the evening. As night approaches, Masceroen again becomes impatient and cries loudly: "Lord, where is justice, which, men say, dwells in Heaven?" God postpones the trial until the next day, and

<sup>1</sup> *Jacob van Maerlant's Merlijn*, ed. by van Vloten, Leiden, 1880. The relation of this version to the allegory of the Four Daughters of God, or *Procès de Dieu*, has been studied by Miss Hope Traver in her monograph, *The Four Daughters of God*, Philadelphia, 1907. I am indebted to this work for many suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> Jan de Winkel in *Paul's Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, II, i, 458 and 465.

Masceroen again returns to Hell in discomfiture and is again forced by Lucifer to prosecute his claim on the morrow.

Meanwhile the Virgin Mary, feeling a mother's sorrow for mankind, offers herself as advocate, at which there is great rejoicing among the angels. When the hour comes, God takes his place in his consistory, surrounded by countless hosts of angels, patriarchs and prophets, and when Mary, attended by a multitude of angels, has entered and seated herself beside her son, the trial begins. She asserts her readiness to answer for man and challenges Masceroen to present his claim. He, unable to raise his eyes to the brightness of her glory, turns fretfully to God, saying: "In every case there must be three: the judge, the plaintiff, and the defendant. You are the judge, I the plaintiff, but I do not see the guilty one." Mary interposes with a second assertion of her intention to act as man's representative, but Masceroen objects, saying: "It is contrary to all justice that a woman act as advocate; besides, she is your mother and bound by kinship." Mary indignantly replies, and after much opposition, she is recognized as advocate. Then follows prolonged argument, Masceroen seeking to establish his right to man and Mary insisting that his right has been lost and forfeited to Christ. Masceroen then takes from his pocket a Bible and quotes Genesis ii, 17, and presses his claim so hard that Mary, weeping, begs her Son to help her. Moved by her distress, He would dismiss Masceroen, but the latter suggests a compromise. "I will take my speech from the Scriptures and confirm it by heathen law. When there is strife between two parties, what does the judge do but make a division? Therefore give to me the evil, to your mother the good. Put mankind in the scale. Her part will be bitterly small." Christ is about to yield, but Mary cries that the weighing has already been done through the death of her son. Thereupon Masceroen demands advo-

cates, and chooses Justice and Truth. The angels urge Mary to likewise choose advocates, and she decides upon Mercy and Peace. The four virtues appear and the debate is given over to them. Gerechteheit and Waerheit would condemn man without pity, but Ontfermeheit would give pardon to the repentant sinner. Vrede then proves that God's sentence of death upon those who had eaten the apple has already been accomplished, since before this sin, man was immortal. She then claims that David's prophecy be fulfilled, in that Ontfermeheit and Waerheit meet and she and Gerechteheit kiss. This is granted, whereupon Masce-roen in rage and dismay flees to Hell, where eternal enmity is vowed against Christ.

As was pointed out by Miss Traver,<sup>1</sup> the story is a combination of three separate elements: (1) a trial scene in which the Virgin and Satan's representative contend for the possession of man; (2) the motive of the scales in which man's good and evil deeds are weighed; (3) the debate between the four virtues, two of whom condemn man and two plead in his behalf.<sup>2</sup> It is only with the first of these elements, the trial scene, with which we are here concerned.

No definite source is known for this Dutch version. Inasmuch as the *Merlijn* is for the most part merely a translation of the French *Merlin*, it is reasonable to believe that Maerlant also followed a French original in this episode. Miss Traver sums up as follows her investigation of the source. "When one remembers that Maerlant for the rest of the poem, was merely a translator, one must doubt whether the credit for inventing the 'Processus Belial' belongs to him. I cannot but feel, therefore, that an earlier

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> See Miss Traver's monograph for a study of the allegory of the Four Daughters of God, or *Procès de Dieu*, based upon Psalm lxxxiv, 11, *Misericordia et Veritas obviaverunt sibi; Justitia et Pax osculatæ sunt.*

version of similar character must have existed in either Latin, Spanish or French, and that from this the allegory in *Merlijn* was derived.”<sup>1</sup>

About one hundred years after Maerlant, another Netherlandish poem appeared which repeats almost exactly the above-mentioned episode of the *Merlijn*. This is the *Mascheroen*,<sup>2</sup> which may have been written by Jan Boendale, a disciple of Maerlant. Only two important changes occur. The council of devils with which the scene in *Merlijn* opens is preceded in the *Mascheroen* by another council in which the devils, dismayed that their efforts to tempt Christ were vain, learned through studying the Scriptures that the object of the incarnation is the redemption of man through the death of Christ, and accordingly planned to prevent His death by sending a vision to Pilate's wife. The other instance where the two poems materially differ is in the arguments employed by the four Virtues, and need not concern us here.

Stintzing<sup>3</sup> mentions two Latin versions which offer a striking similarity to the account contained in *Merlijn*. The first, entitled *Processus judiciarius*, begins : *Accessit Mascaron ad dei omnipotentis præsenciam et ait*, etc., and ends thus : *Litigacio Manscaron (sic) contra genus humanum finit feliciter*.<sup>4</sup> The second has as heading : *Libellus procuratoris in quo dyabolus producit litem coram iudice omnipotente deo contra genus humanum, pro quo beata virgo Maria tanquam procuratrix et advocata comparens tandem pugnam obtinuit*

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> F. A. Snellaert, *Nederlandsche Gedichten uit de veertiende eeuw, van Jan Boendale, Hein van Aken, en anderen*, Brussels, 1869, pp. lxxiii-lxxviii and 493-549. It is found in a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Marshall Coll., No. 32, of the late fourteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 265.

<sup>4</sup> I have not been able to see a copy of this version, which formed a part of Stintzing's own collection.

*et inimici versuciam confudit.* It begins ; *Accessit Ascaron ad omnipotentis dei præsentiam et ait,* etc., and ends thus : *O clemens o pia o dulcis Maria. Amen.* Venetiis per Gerardum de Flandria. 1478.<sup>1</sup>

The account begins with the appearance of the *procurator infernalis nequitie*, who is called in the first, Mascaron, and in the second, Ascaron. Aside from this, the two versions agree in the main. The trial scene is interlarded with countless citations of Roman and Canon law, so that the purpose of juristic instruction is plainly evident. Near the end of the narrative, when Mascaron feels that he is hard pressed, he asks for the assistance of two advocates, Justice and Truth. On the advice of the angels, Mary chooses Mercy and Peace to aid her, and, as in Merlijn, the case is brought to an end by Peace. Stintzing believed that the name Mascaron gives us a clue to the source of the account. He says that Mascaron in Spanish and French names means *Fratzen-gesicht*. The root word *masera, masca, Larve* (mask) whence *mascara* (*personatorum turba*, according to Du Cange) has thus passed from Arabic into Romance, for in Arabic *Maschara* means *Possenspiel*. Thus the name leads us to France or Spain. "Ist man überdies versucht, in manchen Wendungen der Rede den Einfluss orientalischer Vorstellungen zu erkennen, so möchte man den Ursprung der Schrift in Spanien vermuthen."<sup>2</sup> In considering this version, Miss Traver arrived at the same conclusion : "This name implies a Spanish origin for these versions, and I have found references to a Spanish version called Mascaron, but have not succeeded in finding any copy of these versions or any information as to their date or character."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I owe to the kindness of Prof. A. L. Stiefel a transcript of a copy of this version which is found in the Stadtbibliothek of Munich. In studying this version, I shall designate it by the name *Ascaron*.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 61.

The Spanish version, in reality Catalan, the existence of which was suspected by Stintzing and Miss Traver, has been published in the *Colección de Documentos inéditos del Archivo general de la Corona de Aragon*, Vol. XIII, pp. 107-117, edited by D. Próspero de Bofarull y Mascaró. Milá y Fontenals speaks of it as follows in his *Orígenes del teatro catalán*: "Tócanos mencionar ahora un documento de nuestra literatura, no porque le juzguemos más antiguo que el misterio de que luego hablaremos, sino porque ofrece la forma de transición que consideramos anterior á la de los misterios. Tal es el Mascarón, obra conservada en códices de San Cucufate y de Ripoll, escrita hacia fines del siglo. La semejanza de argumento con los autos castellanos y muy especialmente con el de *La Residencia del hombre* de principios del siglo XVI, y la forma del relato en que intervienen y dialogan el demonio Mascarón, como acusador del linaje humano, el Criador como juez y Nuestra Señora como abogada, asemejan esta obra á los verdaderos misterios, y aun se ha supuesto con visos de verosimilitud que estaba destinado á ser recitado por diferentes personas, siendo una de ellas la encargada de la parte del narrador; creemos que si se recitó en público, lo fué por un lector solo. No se opone en rigor á la recitación alternada el que la parte narrativa sea muy extensa y en nada manifieste que se dirige á espectadores, ni menos el que la designación de los personajes está puesta en boca del narrador (E dix lo Criador . . . E dix la advocade . . .), pero sí, á nuestro ver, una circunstancia al parecer minuciosa: las palabras de un interlocutor están una vez interrumpidas por el narrador: Yo, dix Mascarón, demanam si es algu," etc.<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to believe that this version was intended to be recited, although it is possible that its source was a primitive form of mystery play, and that the form which

<sup>1</sup> *Obras completas*, Vol. VI, Barcelona, 1895, pp. 216.



we have is a *remaniement* in narrative style. It is unfortunate that Milá y Fontanals did not state clearly to what century *Mascarón* might be attributed. The editor of the text ascribes the manuscript to the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. José Sol y Padris, who first mentioned it, says that the manuscript is of the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

The Catalan version narrates merely the suit of Mascarón against mankind, which is defended by the Virgin Mary, but the trial scene is not so fully developed as in the Dutch and Latin versions. The element of weighing the good and evil deeds of mankind does not appear, nor is any mention made of the participation in the case of the Four Daughters of God. The juristic element was not fully developed, although one can see how the account offered material capable of serving as a model of legal procedure. In many passages, there is absolute agreement. I wish to point out some of the most striking parallel passages in the Catalan, Dutch and Latin versions. I shall designate the Catalan text as *Mascarón*, the Dutch as *Merlijn*, and the Latin text which I have used as *Ascaron*. I have not attempted to correct the Catalan text, which, as Morel-Fatio<sup>2</sup> has said, is *erbärmlich incorrekt*. I shall take up later the introduction in the Catalan text, which does not appear in the other versions.

The devils hold a council and send a procurator to appear before God.

MASCARON. E per tal com les dites raons los dits dimonis vaerense escarnits e enganats, hordonaren e feren 1 procurador per nom Mascarón, 1 demoni molt savi e discret e estelati que en la presència del fil de Deu ana legir pleyt denant aquel contra lumenal linatje.

<sup>1</sup> *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Vol. II, p. 152n.

<sup>2</sup> *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, Vol. II, 2, p. 88.

MERLIJN, ll. 2013–23.

Doe die Duvele zagen daernaren  
 Dat zy aldus bespottet waren,  
 Doe riepen zi te samene gereede  
 Alle die hellesche quaethede,  
 Ende koren onder hem allen daer  
 Enen procureere scalck ende zwaer,  
 Die was geheten Masceroen ;  
 Dien wart befoelen al hoer doen  
 Ende dat hi soude varen mede  
 In Onses Heren tegenwordichede,  
 Gelijck dat procureere plegen.

This is followed in *Mascaron* and *Merlijn* by casuistical arguments to justify the appearance of the procurator of Hell as a plaintiff before God. The arguments agree in the main in the two texts, but are more fully developed in *Merlijn*. This introduction is not found in *Ascaron*.

Mascaron then appears in the presence of God and demands a hearing.

MASCARON. E Creador de totes coses, tu es vera justicia e jo son procurador de tota la inquesia infernal. E pux que tu es vera justicia e dins tu es nade e de tu es axida, placia a tu quem vules hoyr en justicia. E dix lo Creador—si tu es procurador, mostrem la tua procuracio e fem daquela plena fe e plena justicia.

MERLIJN, ll. 2049–55.

“ O schepper, ende aller dinge gerechteheit,  
 Ick ben procureere alre quaetheit  
 Van der Hellen, dy moet genoegen des,  
 Want dy van der Gerechtheit angeboren es  
 My te hoeren, alse bode der Hellen.”  
 Onse Here antworde den fellen :  
 “ Bistu procureere, toge dine brieve nu.”

ASCARON. Accessit Ascaron ad omnipotentis dei praesentiam et ait : Creator omnium, ubique iusticia ? Ego sum procurator totius nequicie infernalis ; placeat iusticie dignator me audire. Cui dominus ait : Si tu es procurator, exhibe procuratorium.

Mascaron replies :

MASCARON. E espos (sic) Mascaron procurador al Creador—jo primera-ment vul infernar sobre l gran article qui tocha lo mesels de totes les penes infernals e feta aquesta infernacio, jo mostrare carte de ma procuracio.

MERLIJN, ll. 2056-60.

Masceroen zeide : ‘Ick wille eer iu  
Bevroeden op een punte wel hoge,  
Die roert die gene al onse vermoge  
Die in der Hellen zijn, ende op dat  
Beziet onse procuracie nu ter stat.’”

ASCARON. Respondit procurator. Volo te informare super quodam arduo articulo qui tangit medullitus omnes inferos et informatione facta, exhibebo procuratorium.

God then threatens to turn the procurator out of Heaven if he does not show at once his credentials, and Mascaron thereupon shows his paper.

MASCARON. E lo demoni tement lo Creador lo qual no vae que li fo jutge forable, mostra con era fet procurador de tota la iniquitat infernal e perlant axi com a umenalment pot hom perlar, la carta fo feta axi bastant e sofecientment que en alguna manera in pert no avia defaliment ne la pogera hom anullar en nula manera.

MERLIJN, ll. 2069-74.

Dese ontsach den rechter doer das  
Ombe dat hy des onwillech was ;  
Dus toende hy die procuracie, zijn teken  
Daer wy af gemeenleke spreken,  
Dat herde wel gedichtet was dan,  
Dat daer niet te beterne was an.

ASCARON. Qui formidans iudicem, quem sibi gratum non videbat, exhibuit procuratorium. Et ut more humano loquamur, sic sufficienter factum quod in nulla ipsius parte patiebatur calumpniam.

The devil then makes a formal claim for all the souls which had been released by the redemption, and asks that mankind be summoned to hear the suit. He wishes to recover possession, not only of all the souls in Heaven and Purgatory, but also of all those born and to be born. The Creator replies :

**MASCARON.** E dix lo Creador—jo te be entes tu demoni demanes que sia fet dia assignat al umanal linatje que respona a la tua demande.

**MERLIJN,** ll. 2105–06.

Onse Here sprack : “ ick hore wel dy,  
Du begeres enen dach daer by.”

**ASCARON.** Respondit dominus : Audiui te. Modo agatur de die.

The procurator urges that a day be at once assigned for the hearing, and God names Good Friday.

**MASCARON.** E respos lo Creador al dit procurador infernal—fil de demoni e de dapnacio iniquicia e falcedat malvat demoni tu casent del cel e si erets lo mig del cel e de la terra jo a tu al umenal linatje assignat sert die a comparer denant mi, ço es a saber lo divenres sant de la mia pacio en lo qual jo fuy crucificat.

**MERLIJN,** ll. 2113–21.

Doe sprack Onse Here ende zeide :  
“ Sone des viants ende alre quaetheide,  
Verdomede scalck, al vallende onwaerde  
Hevestu gemeten tusscen hemel ende aerde,  
Ick legge dy dach alse procureere gerede,  
Ende den menscheliken geslechte te komene mede  
Vor mi als tot enen zekeren dage  
Alse in den heiligen vrydage,  
Op den welcken ick gecrucet was.”

**ASCARON.** Respondit dominus ei : Dyabole fili iniquitatis et ingratitude nec nurum damnate nequam, tam cito mensurasti intervallum inter celum et terram, unde assigno diem certam tibi ad respondendum hic coram me scilicet diem veneris sanctam, in qua fui crucifixus.

The procurator refuses to accept a festival day, but God is unwilling to change his decision.

**MASCARON.** E respos Mascarón—jo aquex dia nol pren cor en aytal dia nol podia nul hom ans hon que sia es feriat. E respos lo Creador—jo e fets los drets axi jo dispon e vul que sia aquel dia.

**MERLIJN,** ll. 2122–26.

Masceroen antworde te hant na das :

“Dien dach ick niet ontfangen sal  
 Want dien dach viert men overal.”  
 Onse Here sprack : “ick makede dat recht  
 Ende ick latet hierop nu ende echt.”

ASCARON. Respondit procurator : Istam diem non accepto, quia est ubilibet feriata. Respondit dominus : ego iura condidi. Sic hoc dispono.

God then summons the angel Gabriel and bids him send for mankind.

MASCARON. E de continent lo Creador apela lo beneyt angel Gabriel e dixli—aparela tot humanal linatje que comparega soficientment e sia que vega e no sera anantat en aquest negosi axi com orde de dret e de rao ho requer.

MERLIJN, ll. 2127–29.

“O Gabriel, roep des menschen diet  
 Dat zi komen tesen dage ; en komen si niet,  
 Men sal voert dat recht doen scinen.”

ASCARON. O gabriel, voca genus humanum ut compareat sufficienter, et siue compareat siue non, procedetur ut ius dictabit.

The procurator then returns to Hell and relates how he has fared. The devils are very angry, but Lucifer commands him to appear on the following day to prosecute the suit. Mascarón consents, but adds that he would rather be tortured than appear again before God.

MASCARON. E respos Mascarón—jo mes amaria aci estar crucificat e turmentat cruelment que comparer denant lo Creador en lo qual es tot goyg e tota alegria en nula manera quant veyg aytal goyg, non pux alegrar ans hom mes lo veg lo dit goyt e mes e de dolor e de turment e de pena, mas enpero axi com aquel a qui jo son tengut de hobeyr, fare com que mes.

MERLIJN, ll. 2144–52.

Masceroen zeide : “ick hadde liever twaren  
 Hier met iu werden gepynet voerwaer,  
 Dan weder te gane voer hem daer,  
 Daer alle blijtschap is van vrouwen,  
 Ende daer ick niet af mach vervrouden,  
 Maer meer my bedroeven hierby

Ombe hoer blijtschap die niet mach en my ;  
Maer ick moet gehoersaem wesen,  
Ende oeck doen dat staet te desen."

ASCARON. Qui Ascaron respondit : malle<sup>m</sup> potius hic vobiscum cruciari quam ibi ubi est omne gaudium esse, quoniam ibi nullo modo gaudeo sed potius doleo, cum gaudere incipio. Sed obedientie datus, faciam quod incumbit.

Early on the appointed day, the procurator of Hell enters the court of Heaven and waits for the hearing.

MASCARON. E parlar umanalment comparech Mascaron denant lo Creador en lo dit dia vench en hora dalba. E estant en lo palau tot sol en l'angle e sabia be que major deuria esser la contumacia daquel qui demana que daquel qui es demanat e per aquesta rao era vengut axi mati per tal que no li pogues lo jutje escriure fadiga en lo plet e tenia abdosos les oreles be aparelades que en lo palau no fes naguna cosa contra el.

MERLIJN, II. 2153-64.

Op den dage, die daer geset was,  
Quam Mascheroen, sijt zeker das,  
Recht in den dageraet, ende ginck  
In eenen winkel na die dinck  
In dat pleidoen, want hi wiste dat  
Wel, dat des eyschers stat  
Eerst ende gestadiger moet wesen,  
Dan die men eyschet tot desen ;  
Ende daerombe quam hi vroe, God weet,  
Ende hadde beide sine oren gereet  
Ende sine ogen opgedaen oeck wyde,  
Ombe te hoerne ende ziene in elke zyde.

ASCARON. Ut more humano loquamur, comparuit Ascaron in aurora diei, stans in consistorio dei solus in quodam angulo. Bene autem sciebat quod maior erat contumacia actoris quam rei. Et ideo tempestive venerat et ambas aures apertas habebat et paratas semper, ne quid contra eum fieret.

At midday, Mascarón complains that mankind has not yet answered the summons, but God sends him back to his place.

MASCARON. E con fo hora de mig die vench Mascaron a la presencia de Deu e dix—Pare Sant, jo som vengut mati e encara esper

lumanal linatje e encare no es vengut fe en aço. E dix lo Salvador—ve, ve, ve que encara no es pasat lo dia. E lo dimoni tornasen estar en lo dit angle del palau.

MERLIJN, II. 2165–72.

Ende doe t den middage begonste naken  
 Quam Masceroen voert met sinen saken  
 In die jegenwordicheit Godes, ende zeide :  
 “Heilge vader ! ick quam voer ende nae beide ;  
 Nu doe my recht, ick beide te lanck.”  
 Doe zeide Cristus : “Duvel, nu ganck,  
 Want al dese dach ten rechte staet.”  
 Doe keerde hy weder ten winckel, die quaet.

ASCARON. Appropinquante autem quasi iam meridie, accessit Ascaron ad presentiam dei dicens : pater sancte, ego veni diluculo et semper expectaui ; fac mihi iusticiam. Dixit ei dominus : Uade, vade ; tota dies cedit. Tunc demon rediit in angulum et expectauit usque ad horam extremam.

At Vespers, the procurator again demands that the case be heard, but again his claim is not allowed, and he must return to his place. This is not found in *Ascaron*.

MASCARON. A ora de vespres lo dit Mascaron vench ab gran brogit denant la presencia del Creador dient—Senyor Deus, hon es justicia ? E respos lo Creador—malvat, no e dit que encara no es pasat aquest dia ? E ladonchs lo dit dimoni tornasen en lo dit angle del palau e espera tot lo dia tro a la completa.

MERLIJN, II. 2173–80.

Ontrent Vespertyde gaf hy doe wt  
 Enen vreesliken, gruweliken geluet,  
 Ende sprack : “ God, waer es Dyne gerechtichede ? ”  
 Onse Here antworde hem ter stede :  
 “ Ja, en zeide ick dy niet, vule quaet,  
 Dat al dese dach ten rechte gaet ? ”  
 Doe keerde hy weder in dem winckel daer,  
 Ende wachte de bet der nacht wel naer.

At nightfall, Mascarón again appears before God, accusing Him of injustice. After considerable discussion, the hearing is postponed until the following day. Here the three versions agree. The Dutch version is the fullest, but adds

nothing important. Then the Virgin Mary, moved to pity by the danger which threatens mankind, offers to be its advocate.

MASCARON. E com Madona Sancta Maria sabe quel humanal linatje era citat, moguda de gran pietat axi com damor maternal parlant humilment, ach despleer e dix publicament al humanal linatje—no tiens paor que jo dema e tots temps sere avocade del humanal linatje. E ab aytant tota lorde dels angels salegra e ach plaer de gran leticia.

MERLIJN, ll. 2231-40.

Else dese beroepinge quam te voren  
Der reyner maget wtverkoren  
Bedroevde zi hoer ombe dien pleit  
Met moederliker ontfermicheit;  
Ende doe si vernam dat verlenget waer  
Die dach, sprach zi doe openbaer  
Totter menscheit: "nu laet iu sorgen  
Want opten dach van morgen  
Sal ick uwer aller vorsprake wesen."  
Dat hemelsche volck verblide van desen.

ASCARON. Cumque clamor ad aures virginis Marie pervenisset, re gesta audita, materno amore condoluit. Audiens tamen cominationem factam esse, nec ultra processum, publice dixit: Non terreamini, quia die crastina humani generis aduocata ero et in hoc totus chorus angelorum conquieuit.

The next day, the Virgin Mary appears in the Heavenly court, accompanied by angels who sing her praise, and having seated herself beside her Son, says that she will undertake the defense of mankind, and asks that Mascarón be summoned. The three versions agree here. The angels rejoice at this announcement and send for the procurator of Hell.

MASCARON. E ladonchs los angels e los amichs de Deu ageren gran plaer e apellaren Mascaron diens—vine Mascaron dapnat e reprovat, cor ara as trobade part qui defendre humanal linatje.

MERLIJN, ll. 2275-79.

Ende hieraf verblide die Hemel al,  
Dat zi een vorsprake wesen sal,



Ende riefen den verdomeden totter stede :  
 “ Coemt, verwysede ende verbannen mede,  
 Du vindes hier wedersake in dit doen.”

ASCARON. Tunc omnes angeli de tanta aduocata gloriantes vocauerunt dampnatum dicentes—veni condempnate et reprobe ; inuenies partem.

Mascarón enters, but is unable to raise his eyes to the Virgin, who looks at him angrily.

MASCARON. E Mascaron ple denveja e de tot engan vench e no gosa levar los uls ves la care de la avocade qui al ul de dona irade lo guardava axi com Mascaron ho podia conexer.

MERLIJN, II. 2280–82.

Aldus zo quam daer vorwaert Masceroen,  
 Ende en dorst niet, sonder waen,  
 Sine ogen op onse vorsprake slaen.

ASCARON. Accessit autem demon plenus inuidia omnique dolo nec fuit ausus oculos erigere in aduocate faciem que ipsum ita turbato oculo respiciebat.

God bids him speak, and Mascarón replies that three persons must be present at a trial ; the plaintiff, the defendant, and the judge. The judge and plaintiff, he says, are present, but he does not see the defendant.

MASCARON. E dix Mascaron—tot hom sap que judici esta en III persones ço es a saber, lo jutja e aquel qui demana e aquel qui es demanat. Vet tu qui est jutje e jo qui son demanador ; la persona del demanat ne lo ich veig sens la qual no sera agual lo judici.

MERLIJN, II. 2293–2301.

Doe sprack hi : “ ick wil dat elck verstaet  
 Dat in elcken rechte voertgaet :  
 Drie persone heb ick vereest  
 Die vader, die zone, die heilge geest ;  
 Der rechter sie ick alset behoevet,  
 Dat ick eyscher ben isser geproevet  
 By mynen brieven, als men ziet,  
 Den sculdegen persoan en zie ick niet,  
 Sonder wien dat recht es twint.”

ASCARON. Dixit demon : Cuncti sciunt quod iudicium constat ex tribus personis scilicet iudicis, actoris et rei. Iudicem video, quod ego sum actor probatur per citatorium ; personam autem rei non video sine quo nullum est iudicium.

The Virgin Mary replies that she represents mankind. Mascarón objects to this because she is a woman and also because of her relationship with the Judge. After a long debate in which Mascarón proves himself an "*audace contraddittore e buon loico*," the Judge decides to allow Mary to appear in behalf of mankind. Mascarón then takes a Bible from his pocket and reads the verse of Genesis which promises punishment to Adam and Eve if they disobey the command of God and which constitutes the basis of the claim of Lucifer against man. Mary refutes this claim, and here the Catalan text stops quite unexpectedly with a "*Deo gracias*." The Latin and Dutch versions agree in the main with the above, but the scene is more fully developed, and in *Ascaron* the juristic element, with the many references to Canon law, is more prominent. As I have said, the Catalan text stops at this point. In the Dutch and Latin versions, Mary, when hard pressed, has recourse to tears and begs her Son to help her. Then the procurator suggests a compromise, and Justice, Truth, and Mercy take part in the dispute, which is finally settled by Peace. The suit of Mascarón is dismissed, and he returns in disgrace to Hell.

A comparison of these three texts shows, I believe, that the Catalan version is the earliest. Here the subject is merely the claim of a representative of Hell for mankind. The other two elements, the proposal of Mascarón to weigh the good and evil deeds of man and the dispute between the four Virtues, evidently did not form a part of the original story. It is likely that the Catalan version was translated into French, and this lost French version was translated into Dutch and Latin. Not only does the primitive character of

the Catalan text furnish evidence that it was the earliest, but also the name Mascarón points to Spain. Van Maerlant and the Latin translator added the two new elements, both of which were popular themes in medieval literature. The author of the Latin version gave to the story a certain juristic coloring, but, as may be seen by the parallel passages, both agree with the Catalan text, so far as it goes.

In one other important respect the Catalan version differs from *Merlijn* and *Ascaron*. It contains an introduction in which the devils are represented as holding a council. They had been uncertain whether Jesus was really the Messiah, and had finally learned that he was the Redeemer. Fearing that he would release the souls of the damned by his death, they sent a dream to the wife of Pilate, urging her to prevent the crucifixion of Jesus. It was only after this plan had failed that they sent Mascarón to lay claim to mankind before God. This explanation of the dream of Pilate's wife, which was well known in medieval literature,<sup>1</sup> is not found in *Merlijn* nor in the Latin version, *Ascaron*, but it serves as introduction to the Dutch poem *Mascheroen*, written about a hundred years after *Merlijn*, which in other respects it follows almost exactly. We may infer that the author of *Mascheroen* worked from a French translation of the Catalan text in the form in which it has been preserved, while Van Maerlant used a version which did not contain this introduction.

<sup>1</sup> This interpretation of the dream of Procula, the wife of Pilate, is found in the Gospel of Nicodemus, cap. II. In *La Passion de Jésus-Christ* by Arnoul Greban, ll. 23342-52, Satan succeeds in bringing about the death sentence of Jesus, but Lucifer is not satisfied and a messenger is sent to appear to Pilate's wife in a dream and to urge her to prevent the crucifixion of Jesus. See Wieck, *Die Teufel auf der mittelalterlichen Mysterienbühne Frankreichs*, Leipzig, 1897. The same subject is treated in the English York and Coventry plays. See L. W. Cushman, *The Devil and the Vice in the English Dramatic Literature before Shakespeare*, Halle, 1900, p. 17.

There are several Spanish plays indirectly connected with the subject treated in *Mascarón*. M. Léo Rouanet considers *Mascarón* to be the source of the *Auto de Acusación contra el género humano*. "L'auteur de notre auto semble s'être borné à supprimer ces formules, à négliger les passages narratifs et à mettre en vers la prose catalane. Au demeurant, les deux œuvres ne sauraient se ressembler davantage, tant dans la marche de l'action que dans les moindres détails."<sup>1</sup> However, there are certain differences which show that the *Auto de Acusación contra el género humano* is not based directly upon *Mascarón*. In the former, the name *Mascarón* does not appear, and, besides, the trial ends with a formal sentence against Satan, who prosecutes his case in person. Its source is the version attributed to Bartolus, entitled: *Questiones ventilate coram domino nostro Jesu Cristo inter Virginem Mariam . . . et dyabolum*, published in 1473 but written in 1311, which had extraordinary vogue throughout the Middle Ages.<sup>2</sup> The subject of *Mascarón* is recalled by the *Farsa Sacramental de la Residencia del Hombre* and the *Auto de la Residencia del Hombre*.<sup>3</sup> In these plays, *Conciencia* summons *Hombre* before *Justicia* because he has been disobedient to her commands. *Hombre* enters accompanied by *Angel de la Guarda*, who acts as his procurator. As witnesses against *Hombre*, *Conciencia* summons *Mundo*, *Carne*, and *Lucifer*, who tell of his sins. *Hombre*, on the advice of *Angel*, confesses his faults and is pardoned by *Justicia*. As M. Rouanet says, these plays only recall the aforementioned versions by their juristic setting. "Il n'y

<sup>1</sup> *Colección de autos, farsas y coloquios del siglo XVI*, Vol. IV, p. 287. The *Auto de Acusación contra el género humano* is published in Vol. II, p. 449.

<sup>2</sup> The version of Bartolus was also the source of the French *L'Advocacie Notre-Dame ou la Vièrge Marie plaidant contre le Diable*, a fourteenth century play ascribed to Jean de Justice. Ed. by Alphonse Chassant, Paris, 1855.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. by Rouanet, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 152, and Vol. II, p. 330.

est nullement question du péché originel, qui exige une expiation impossible aux êtres humains, mais du péché en général, qui peut être effacé par la contrition et la pénitence. Le diable n'intervient pas en qualité d'accusateur ; on le cite comme témoin. L'auteur n'a point en vue les mystères de l'incarnation ou de la rédemption, c'est à celui de l'eucharistie que tend son action dramatique." <sup>1</sup> A play entitled *La demanda que pone el demonio al género humano*, represented at Seville in 1575, <sup>2</sup> and *El Pleito del demonio con la Virgen*, the work of three poets, which appeared in the *Parte sexta de los mejores ingenios*, Madrid, 1654, probably treat the same subject as that found in the version attributed to Bartolus. The *Auto de las Pruebas del linaje humano* <sup>3</sup> and Lope de Vega's *Los acreedores del hombre* are only remotely connected with the same subject. <sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. iv, p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> Arjona, *Anales*, p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. by Rouanet, Paris, 1897.

<sup>4</sup> Published in the Academy edition of the plays of Lope de Vega, Vol. II.